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Later in the day Kanyahé took it into his head to make fun of me. 837
"You're always walking around making love," he shouted. "No I'm not," I yelled back. We had a large audience. "You make love everywhere," Kanyahé bellowed; "everybody sees you!" "You lie, you're the one who makes love." "You bet I do," he roared. This was my cue to see how far he was willing to walk on thin ice, and I retaliated: "No one has to see you. It is the talk of everyone, how much you walk about taking women." This was too much even for Kanyahé. He dropped the subject immediately without another word and turned to weeding. Through it all Yakwá stood, his powerful hands on the handle of his scythe, a broad smile on his face, completely enjoying the show.

This affair throws into bold relief the fate that awaits the principals in a conflict whose solution is prevented by a possessive husband. The jealous husband pursues his wife to the point where his behavior causes much smiling behind polite hands. His endless quarrels with her culminate in blows and often in dissolution of the marriage. Yakwá's threat to kill Kanyahé would never have been carried out because murder in Kaingáng [684]
society must have a background of vendetta,[5] but it illustrates well the complete break between the two men.

Another drama enacted by a mother and a son-in-law, illustrates the 595
ever-ripening character of this relationship. Just as they have resolved the 606
struggle between a man and his son for the same woman through the son's marriage to his stepmother, the Kaingáng have arrested the conflict between a woman and her daughter for the same man by the man's marrying his mother-in-law too.[6] Instead of surrounding the mother-in-law with disrupting taboos that send the son-in-law flying when he hears her coming or keeping him cooling his heels outside as long as his mother-in-law, whose face he may not see, is in the house, the Kaingáng have developed the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law to the point where he sometimes marries her and becomes the second father of her children. Such was the relationship between Kuvén and Kanngá's mother and between the captive Nyepá and his mother-in-law, Kuichó. Yakwá has no one to take care of him if his wife Anggló chooses to remain at the post while he goes hunting with me and the Indians. But if his widowed mother-in-law, whose household he never left as long as she was alive, went along, his food was cooked when he came back after a long day's range in the forest just as if she had been his wife and there were always fresh fern leaves for him to stretch his body on. At night he slept beside the old woman or at her feet across the campfire. When he moved camp it was she who carried his few belongings, and when she needed a basket it was

[5] See pp. 52, 60.
[6] I have no instances of a man's marrying his daughter-in-law.

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745 606 he who made it for her. When her family gathered around her it was she who gave him food. An Indian told me that when the old woman died[7] he did not say to her, as the Kaingáng usually say to the dead, "Leave me and go away," so that her soul would not take him along, but instead: "Do not leave me. When I am sick I shall ask your protection."

595 The relationship between co-husbands in polyandrous and joint marriage was one of the strongest in the society. Children might leave their parents, brothers might separate to follow their affinal relatives, brothers-in-law and parents and their sons-in-law might rarely see one another or might interrupt long-standing relationships casually, but co-husbands who had grown to maturity did not part. The strongest loyalties in such marriages were not between the husbands and their wife or wives but among the men. However strongly the men and women may be linked together in a common household the charm of casual intrigues is too great for them to forego. Although Amendó had four husbands she still had time for swift rendezvous in the forest, and many children called Wanyekí and his co-husbands *yûgn*[8] "because he had intercourse with their mother."

The motive that lead a man to accept a co-husband was always the same, his own and his family's security. The more independent and the more possessive avoided it as long as they could. Many could avoid it all their lives, but others, driven by old age and the lack of young sons to take care of them or forced by a crippling injury, at last accepted co-husbands. And it was generally only because there were no marriageable women around that a man consented to become a co-husband. Young co-husbands separated as soon as a likely young woman appeared on the scene and that was why polyandry among young men was so unstable. Older men preferred the comfortable security of joint households, so that even if they encountered a marriageable woman they preferred to absorb her into a joint household rather than venture the precarious independence of a separate *ménage*. When one of my informants, Klendó, was a young man he asked his half-brother to come and live with him and his wife, but after a while the half-brother, having acquired a wife of his own, established his own household. The young men shifted around, but when they had matured in polyandry and had learned the value of such a relationship they did not change. A nice realization of their mutual dependence prompted father and son to live peacefully together with the same wife, and impelled a man to share his wife with his brother or even with a distant relative. Father-in-law and son-in-law also became co-husbands, forming a firm cooperating unit which guaranteed food to the older man and his wife and children and which gave the younger man an additional claim on his wife's relatives.

[7] She died during the grippe epidemic in 1933.

[8] The term a person uses for his father and all men very much older than he.